

## Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 ARA-14 ISO-00 IOE-00 AF-10 EA-09 EUR-12  
NEA-10 OIC-02 CIAE-00 COME-00 EB-07 INR-07 LAB-04  
NSAE-00 SIL-01 INRE-00 PA-02 PRS-01 USIE-00 SSO-00  
L-03 SS-15 NSC-05 NSCE-00 DHA-02 /119 W  
-----058472 231458Z /50

O R 231320Z JUN 77

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8530

INFO USUN NEW YORK 5088

AMEMBASSY MEXICO CITY IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 3 GENEVA 5099

PASS IO FOR DALLEY; LABOR FOR SECRETARY MARSHALL AND ILAB;  
MEXICO CITY FOR ASST SEC. MAYNES

MO. 11652: NA

TAGS: ILO PLAB

SUBJECT: STATEMENT OF WORKER VICE PRESIDENT AT CLOSING SESSION  
OF INTERNATIONAL LABOR CONFERENCE

1. FOLLOWING IS STATEMENT OF IRVING BROWN, U.S. WORKER  
DELEGATE TO JUNE 22 PLENARY. BROWN MADE SPEECH IN HIS  
CAPACITY AS WORKER VICE PRESIDENT OF INTERNATIONAL LABOR  
CONFERENCE.

2. BEGIN TEXT:

MR. BROWN (WORKERS' DELEGATE, UNITED STATES;  
VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE CONFERENCE)--MR. PRESIDENT,  
FELLOW DELEGATES, AND SINCE THE NAME OF CYRIL PLANT HAS  
BEEN MENTIONED I WILL ALSO SAY, FELLOW DEMOCRAT, AND  
ALSO JOIN WITH MR. COATES IN PAYING A TRIBUTE TO CYRIL  
PLANT, NOT ONLY FOR HIS PARTICIPATION IN THIS CONFER-  
ENCE - THERE WERE TIMES A FEW WEEKS AGO WHEN WE DID  
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NOT KNOW WHETHER CYRIL WOULD BE WITH US- BUT ALSO  
FOR HIS STAMINA AND HIS DEDICATION TO THE CAUSE OF THE  
WORKERS AND TO THE CAUSES OF THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF  
THE ILO WHICH, I THINK, WERE A MAJOR FACTOR IN HIS  
OVERCOMING HIS SLIGHT CRISIS OF SOME WEEKS AGO. I COULD  
NOT LET THIS OPPORTUNITY GO BY WITHOUT SAYING HOW  
MUCH HE STANDS FOR THE PRINCIPLES OF THE ILO, FOR MOST

OF THE FREE AND INDEPENDENT TRADE UNIONS OF THE WORLD. WE, OF THE AMERICAN TRADE UNION MOVEMENT HAVE COME TO APPRECIATE IT MORE AND MORE, AT LEAST I HAVE, IN THE LAST TWO THAT I HAVE BEEN ASSOCIATED WITH THE WORK OF THE ILO. I AM SURE THAT YOU WILL ALL MISS HIM AND THE WORKERS WILL MISS HIM, BUT I AM SURE THAT MANY WILL TRY, IF IT IS POSSIBLE, TO CARRY ON HIS SPIRIT AND HIS APPROACH; OF COURSE WE CANNOT MATCH HIS SENSE OF HUMOUR WHICH HAS ALWAYS BEEN EXTREMELY IMPORTANT AT CRITICAL MOMENTS.

I DID NOT THINK IT WAS NECESSARY TO COME HERE WITH A PREPARED SPEECH. I WANT TO SAY JUST A FEW THINGS ON WHAT I THINK AND WHAT I REALLY FEEL ABOUT THIS SESSION OF THE CONFERENCE BECAUSE IT IS A MIXTURE. I DO NOT THINK THERE IS ANY POINT IN MY TELLING YOU WHAT YOU THINK YOU MAY OR MAY NOT HAVE ACHIEVED IN THIS SESSION. YOU HAVE ALL PARTICIPATED IN THE VARIOUS COMMITTEES; IT IS FOR YOU TO JUDGE AND, AS SOMEONE HAS SAID, IT WILL BE FOR HISTORY IN THE NEXT COUPLE OF YEARS TO JUDGE WHAT WERE THE RESULTS OF THIS SESSION; WHAT WERE THE SUCCESSES, IN ANY, OR FAILURES, IF ANY. FOR ME THE QUESTION HAS TO BE POSED WHETHER THIS SESSION HAS STRENGTHENED OR WEAKENED THE ILO? EACH ONE OF YOU WILL HAVE TO MAKE THAT DECISION, WILL HAVE TO DRAW YOUR OWN CONCLUSIONS. I DO NOT INTEND TO ENTER INTO ANY

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DEBATE ON THE VARIOUS ISSUES THAT HAVE BEEN DISCUSSED IN COMMITTEE AND IN PLENARY SESSIONS. I DO NOT THINK THERE IS ANY POINT IN MY REPEATING WHAT I SAID IN MY ADDRESS TO THE PLENARY SITTING ON 15 JUNE ABOUT WHAT I THINK ABOUT THE ILO, ITS ACTIVITIES, ITS OBJECTIVES, ITS PRINCIPLES AND WHERE I THINK IT IS GOING AND WHERE SOME OF US THINK IT HAS TO GO.

ALL I WOULD LIKE TO SAY, FIRST, IS THAT THE RESULTS OF THE TECHNICAL COMMITTEES, THE RESULTS OF THE RESOLUTIONS, OF THE RECOMMENDATIONS, OF THE CONVENTIONS, TO ME ALL HANG IN THE BALANCE BECAUSE IT IS EASY TO WRITE REPORTS..., PERHAPS IN FACT IT IS NOT SO EASY; IT TAKES A LOT OF TIME; THERE HAVE BEEN A LOT OF NIGHT AND DAY SITTINGS, BUT I MEAN WE CAN PUT DOWN ON PAPER ALL OF THOSE CONCLUSIONS, ALL OF THE RESOLUTIONS THAT WE WANT, ALL OF THE CONVENTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS, BUT IT ALL REMAINS ON PAPER IF IT IS NOT IMPLEMENTED. THE ISSUE OF IMPLEMENTATION IS THE BURNING ISSUE OF ALL INTERNATIONAL BODIES AND FOR ME THE ONE MECHANISM IN THE ILO, THE ONE SECTOR, THE ONE AREA, WHICH NO OTHER INTERNATIONAL BODY THAT I KNOW OF HAS IS YOUR COM-

MITTEE ON THE APPLICATION OF CONVENTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS AND THE WORK OF THE COMMITTEE OF EXPERTS. FOR UNLESS THERE IS A MEANS TO FOLLOW-UP AND IMPLEMENT WHAT YOU DECIDE HERE IN RESOLUTIONS, WHETHER IT IS ON TRIPARTISM, WHETHER IT IS ON FREEDOM OF ASSOCIATION, WHETHER IT IS ON LABOUR ADMINISTRATION AND ALL THESE OTHER VERY FINE PRODUCTIONS THAT HAVE COME FORTH IN THIS CONFERENCE, UNLESS THERE IS A FOLLOW THROUGH,

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NSAE-00 SIL-01 INRE-00 PA-02 PRS-01 USIE-00 SSO-00  
OIC-02 L-03 SS-15 NSC-05 NSCE-00 DHA-02 /119 W  
-----058627 231459Z /50

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INFO USUN NEW YORK 5089  
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UNLESS THERE IS IMPLEMENTATION IN EACH COUNTRY, IN EACH NATION, IT ALL REMAINS ON PAPER. AS HAS BEEN SAID IN THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL'S REPORT, COUNTRY AFTER COUNTRY, GOVERNMENT AFTER GOVERNMENT COMES TO THIS CONFERENCE AND PAYS TRIBUTE AND SERVICE (SOME OF US THINK LIP-SERVICE) TO THE PRINCIPLES OF TRIPARTISM, TO THE PRINCIPLES OF FREEDOM OF ASSOCIATION, TO THE PRINCIPLES OF COLLECTIVE BARGAINING, TO THE PRINCIPLES OF HUMAN RIGHTS, AND AS HAS BEEN STATED IN THAT REPORT, SOMEHOW OR OTHER THE IMPLEMENTATION DOES NOT SEEM TO BE CARRIED OUT IN MANY COUNTRIES AND BY MANY GOVERNMENTS. THEREFORE IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT THE COMMITTEE ON THE APPLICATION OF CONVENTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS, THAT THE SUPERVISORY MACHINERY BE RESPECTED AND BE UTILISED AND PUT INTO EFFECT EVEN THOUGH MANY OF THE WORKERS, ESPECIALLY, FEEL THAT IS HAS BEEN MANY TIMES TOO LONG A PROCESS, THAT MANY THINGS HAVE TO BE DONE TO IMPROVE IT.

AT LEAST WE CAN SAY WE HAVE THAT MECHANISM, BUT  
I FEEL THAT MONDAY, 20 JUNE, WHAT CYRIL PLANT HAS  
CALLED THE DARK DAY IN THE HISTORY OF THE ILO, HAS  
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BADLY DAMAGED, HAS BADLY TARNISHED THAT MECHANISM  
AND WHETHER IT CAN BE REPAIRED AND BE RESPECTED IS  
GRAVELY IN DOUBT. FOR, LET US REMEMBER, IT IS ALL WELL  
AND GOOD TO SAY THAT IT IS IN THE RECORD OR IT IS ON  
PAPER-AND I WOULD LIKE TO BELIEVE WHAT MY DEAR  
FRIEND, JOE MORRIS, HAS SAID-WILL BE CARRIED OUT BY  
GOVERNMENTS; BUT BEFORE THE EYES OF THE WORLD, THE  
WHOLE WORLD, BY RADIO, BY TELEVISION, BY NEWSPAPERS,  
THIS MECHANISM, THIS REPORT, HAS BEEN REJECTED EVEN  
THOUGH IT WAS BY THE INSTRUMENT OF ABSTENTIONISM,  
WHICH I DO NOT THINK IS A VERY NICE ANF FAIR WAY TO  
TREAT SUCH A SERIOUS QUESTION AND PROBLEM. FOR SOME  
OF US, AND FOR ME PERSONALLY, LOOKING AT IT FROM THIS  
VANTAGE POINT, MONDAY APPEARED TO ME AS A VERY  
STRANGE ALLIANCE OF CERTAIN COUNTRIES, CERTAIN GOVERN-  
MENTS, IN REJECTING BY THE PROCESS OF ABSTENTION THE  
MOST IMPORTANT, THE MOST DECISIVE, INSTRUMENT OF THIS  
ORGANISATION IF WE ARE EVER GOING TO OMPLEMENT ALL OF  
THESE OBJECTIVES AND GOALS WHICH ARE SO NECESSARY AND  
SO IMPORTANT FOR THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD. I DO NOT  
THINK THAT IF THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD HAD A CHANCE  
TO HEAR THAT DEBATE THAT THEY WOULD HAVE BEEN GREATLY  
ENCOURAGED.

THEREFORE, THIS IS THE SAD SIDE, THE DISAPPOINTED SIDE,  
OF MY MIXED FEELINGS.

I WOULD ALSO LIKE TO SAY, IF CAN SAY SO TO MY FRIEND, FRANCIS BLANCHARD,  
WHO HAS TRIED VERY HARD ALONG WITH  
THE PRESIDENT TO TRY TO AVOID SOME OF THESE THINGS, THAT  
IT IS GOING TO MAKE IT VERY DIFFICULT FOR MANY OF US IN  
THE FUTURE.

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I WOULD LIKE TO SAY THAT IT IS NOT TO THE POINT TO SINGLE  
OUT ANY ONE COUNTRY OR ONE NATION FOR THE ILO AND ITS  
FUTURE IS AT STAKE. ITS FUTURE IS NOT TO BE DETERMINED BY  
WHAT ONE COUNTRY DOES OR DOES NOT DO, ALTHOUGH THAT  
MAY BE VERY IMPORTANT, NO MATTER HOW BIG OR SMALL  
THAT COUNTRY IS; WHAT WE HAVE TO LOOK AT IS WHAT WAS

DONE AND NOT DONE TO BE ABLE TO MAKE YOUR TASK A  
LITTLE EASIER, A LITTLE MORE EFFECTIVE, SO THAT THE WORK OF  
THE ILO IN ITS TECHNICAL FIELD, THROUGH ITS INDUSTRIAL  
COMMITTEES, THROUGH THE DECISIONS OF THIS CONFERENCE,  
CAN BE IMPLEMENTED AND CARRIED OUT BY BRINGING THE  
MORAL FORCE OF THIS ORGANISATION TO BEAR. THAT CAN  
ONLY BE DONE THROUGH OUR SUPERVISORY MACHINERY,  
ALONG WITH THE GOODWILL OF THE GOVERNMENTS AND THE  
WORKERS AND THE EMPLOYERS, BECAUSE I THINK THAT AS  
MR. COATES AS AN EMPLOYER AND I MYSELF AS A WORKER  
AND TRADE UNIONIST KNOW, NO AGREEMENT, THROUGH COL-  
LECTIVE BARGAINING OR OTHERWISE IS WORTH THE PAPER THAT  
IT IS WRITTEN ON UNLESS THERE IS GOODWILL. I THINK THE  
REJECTION OF THE REPORT, THE MOST IMPORTANT REPORT OF  
THIS CONFERENCE- THAT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE AP-  
PLICATION OF CONVENTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS- WAS  
NOT A DEMONSTRATION OF GOODWILL, NO MATTER WHAT  
RESERVATIONS WE HAD ON ANY INDIVIDUAL OR SPECIFIC  
CASE, AND IT WAS NOT TO BE JUDGED ON WHETHER OR NOT  
ANY ONE OF OUR OWN, SPECIAL, SPECIFIC ISSUES WAS AT  
STAKE OR WHAT WAS HAPPENING IN OUR OWN COUNTRY OR IN  
OUR OWN AREA.

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INFO OCT-01 ARA-14 ISO-00 IOE-00 AF-10 EA-09 EUR-12  
NEA-10 CIAE-00 COME-00 EB-07 INR-07 LAB-04  
NSAE-00 SIL-01 INRE-00 PA-02 PRS-01 USIE-00 SSO-00  
OIC-02 L-03 SS-15 NSC-05 NSCE-00 DHA-02 /119 W  
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FM USMISSION GENEVA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8532  
INFO USUN NEW YORK 5090  
AMEMBASSY MEXICO CITY IMMEDIATE

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THEREFORE, I HAVE TAKEN THIS TIME TO EMPHASISE THAT  
ASPECT OF THE CASE, AND I DO NOT THINK THAT I NEED TO  
BELABOUR THE POINT OR GO BEYOND THAT STATEMENT. FROM  
MY POINT OF VIEW, IN ANSWER TO THE QUESTION WHETHER  
THIS SESSION OF THE CONFERENCE HAS STRENGTHENED OR

WEAKENED THE ILO, MY ANSWER IS, ESPECIALLY ON THE BASIS OF THE RESULTS OF MONDAY, 20 JUNE, THAT THE ILO HAS BEEN BADLY WEAKENED AND ITS BASIC MACHINERY BADLY DAMAGED AND PERHAPS DAMAGED BEYOND REPAIR. I HOPE NOT.

LAST, BUT NOT LEAST, LET ME SAY TO YOU, MR PRESIDENT, THAT THE BEST PART OF MY ACTIVITY AS VICE-PRESIDENT, ALONG WITH THE OTHER OFFICERS, HAS BEEN ASSISTING YOU-- PERHAPS NOT ALWAYS AS WELL AS WE COULD--IN YOUR ATTEMPT TO BRING SOME CONSENSUS, SOME COMMON SENSE, TO A SOLUTION OF SOME OF THESE BASIC ISSUES AND PRINCIPLES WHICH COULD PRESERVE THE ILO'S BASIC CHARACTER, BASIC FORM, AS A NON-POLITICAL BUT EFFECTIVE ORGANISATION TO OMPLEMENT DECISION, ESPECIALLY IN THE FIELD OF TECHNICAL ACTIVITIES, BUT ABOVE ALL IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE BASIC NEED FOR HUMAN RIGHTS - ESPECIALLY TRADE

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UNION RIGHTS -- AS THE WAY TO CONTRIBUTE IN THE BEST POSSIBLE FASHION TO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND TO RAISING THE STANDARDS OF THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD, ESPECIALLY IN THOSE COUNTRIES THAT WE CALL THE THIRD WORLD OR THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.

WE HAVE INSISTED TIME AND TIME AGAIN -- AND YOU WERE WITH US 100 PERCENT, MR PRESIDENT -- THAT WE DID NOT WANT CONFRONTATION. IT IS ONLY THROUGH NEGOTIATION AND WITH TIME THAT WE WILL BE ABLE TO ACHIEVE ALL THE OBJECTIVES, WHETHER IN RESPECT OF STRUCTURE OR ANYTHING ELSE. IT IS ONLY THROUGH THAT PROCESS THAT WE CAN DO IT, BECAUSE IF THERE IS TO BE CONFRONTATION WE WILL ALL BE THE LOSERS.

BUT IF THERE ARE THOSE WHO THINK CONFRONTATION IS THE WAY, THEN SO BE IT. BUT I BEG AND PLEAD WITH YOU REALLY TO EXAMINE YOUR OWN MINDS, YOUR OWN THOUGHTS, IN TERMS OF WHAT WE DID ON THIS BASIC ISSUE OF THE COMMITTEE ON APPLICATIONS, WHICH GOES TO THE HEART OF THE MACHINERY WHEREBY WE CAN NOT ONLY MAINTAIN BUT EXPAND HUMAN RIGHTS AND DIGNITY THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, ESPECIALLY FOR THE WORKERS WHO NEED IT SO BADLY.

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## Message Attributes

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**Subject:** STATEMENT OF WORKER VICE PRESIDENT AT CLOSING SESSION OF INTERNATIONAL LABOR CONFERENCE  
**TAGS:** ELAB, PORG, OCON, XX, ILO, (BROWN, IRVING)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
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